2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too."

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman."

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was.

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also.

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group.

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936

NU28 Papago NU28

left my basketry tools, my dice, and my red face paint, all at my father's house. A bride does not go and get those things until she feels at home in the new place.

We came to Where the Water Whirls Around and stood out behind their house. My mother put down her carrying basket and we waited to be invited in. That is how we do when we go to someone else's house. The door is always open, or if they are under the arbor in summer, there is no door. But we do not walk in. We wait for someone to see us and to say: "There is an arrival."

My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket, carried it into the house, and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn, and filled the carrying basket. She said to me: "I have put the mat for you." So I went into the house and my mother went home, crying in the evening, with that basket of corn and beans.

Their house was a grass house, like ours. At one end of it slept the old people, then two boys who were almost grown up, then two little children, then my husband and I. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed there for us and laid on it a waist and a skirt and some beads. I had not had many real waists before that. Pretty soon my husband came in.

He was a strong young man and he was clever. He was going to be a medicine man, only his family did not know it. He was nice to me but I was afraid of him. We had not really talked yet. I sat there and laughed a little but I did not talk, and the next morning I got up and ground the corn. My mother-in-law did not have any grown daughter, only those sons, and she was glad someone had come to do the work. She and I laughed and talked in the house. Only I was afraid of my husband. I had never talked to a man at all and I did not know what to say. Maybe I never would have talked to him; I do not know. Only one night when we went to bed, there was a rattlesnake in our bed. I screamed. He said: "Get up and we'll shake our bedding." After that I felt more at home.

My husband had three brothers. Two of them were big boys, almost ready to be married. One was called Thundering Wings and the other we always called by a nickname, One on Top of Another. That was because once he went to Mexico and bought two shawls. He did not know how to carry them on the horse, so he tied them both around his shoulders, one on top of another.

Those two brothers were going to be medicine men, only we did not know it yet. Medicine men do not tell their power until they have really begun to cure and these boys were just dreaming. They used to tease me because I was their first sister-in-law and the only girl in the house. I said: "Go and get some wives. I want company."